/For data on Forest Panchayats and their finances, see 26: Rao, AW1 India, Tables 21-24, pp. 214-218, category 116.

437 (2) The Traditional Economic System

423 The kanam tenure had significance as an institution which linked the system of payments in kind, found within the inland villages, to the [433] cash economy of the coastal towns. Traditionally, each village appears to have been self-sufficient for the basic necessities of life. The high castes paid lower caste servants daily or thrice annually in paddy and the lower castes traded services and some goods with each other with paddy as their medium of exchange. Irava tenants paid their rents in paddy to Nayar kanakkar, who in turn paid a much smaller rent in paddy to the janmi.

Nayar men, however, though they lived mainly from the produce of their estates, were also paid in cash by the Raja in return for military service. [436] The use of money was otherwise confined mainly to the coast-towns and to overseas' trade with the Arabs, Portuguese, Dutch, French and English in pepper and other commodities. This trade was largely carried on by the Muslims, who were originally, from the ninth century, converted from the lower Hindu castes by Arab [442] traders. Muslim middlemen obtained pepper from cultivators of inland and foothill villages in return for cloth obtained from overseas, or manufactured by Hindu castes of weavers in the towns. They traded the pepper for cash to Arabs [651] and Europeans. The royal lineage obtained revenue by several kinds of taxes levelled on this merchandise, and paid the Nayar armies from its coffers. The Nayars in turn made periodic kanam cash payments to Nambudiri and other

2:Gough E-4, 5 (1947-1949)1961 A W11 Kerala A W11
Central Kerala Nayar

nearer to the sea (Innes, 1908: 270). The temperature varies from 70° to 90° and humidity is always high. Unlike most of the great kingdoms of India, Kerala had no single great river and no extensive, centrally organized irrigation system. Instead, her cultivated crops and lush vegetation depended on the heavy rainfall and numerous small rivers and streams by means of which small-scale irrigation was easily possible to groups of families.

Further, the heavy rainfall, seasonal floods, and hilly terrain made communications difficult until modern times. Before the partial conquest of Kerala by Mysoreans from the northeast in 1766, there were no roads, wheeled vehicles, or pack animals. The kings maintained small cavalry forces only in the coast towns, traveled in palanquins, and employed runners to carry messages to their vassal chiefs. Goods were dragged downstream by elephants, transported in boats, or carried on the backs of men. Armies moved slowly; local nobles sometimes rebelled against their rulers but warfare was abandoned in the heavy southwest monsoon season from May to September. The difficulty of communications and the lack of a centrally organized irrigation system may have been connected with the fact that Kerala had no regular land tax until the 1730's (*ibid.*: 308). Instead, the revenues of her rulers came from tribute in kind supplied by subordinate nobles, and from taxes levied upon overseas trade (Logan, 1951, II: ccxviii; Innes, 1908: 307–308).

In spite of the overseas trade, most of Kerala's villages were traditionally self-sufficient for the basic necessities of life. Quantities of manufactured goods were brought to Kerala's ports from other parts of India for shipment to the Middle East, but indigenous crafts such as weaving, metalwork, pottery, and basketry remained simple and served local needs. Kerala thus had no large urban castes of craftsmen and no indigenous merchant castes, but only immigrant communities of Syrian Christian, Jewish, Muslim, and, later, European merchants and Hindu merchants from other kingdoms of India, all concentrated in the coastal towns. The limited nature of trade and crafts and the comparative self-sufficiency of village life also help to account for the relatively decentralized political structure.

History

Little is known of Kerala until the first century A.D. It then formed part of the kingdom of Chera, whose capital was probably east of the Ghats at Karur on the Kaveri River in the modern Trichinopoly district. Chera, like its companion South Indian kingdoms, Chola and

2:Gough E-4, 5 (1947-1949)1961 A Wll Kerala A Wll
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The Christians of Kerala numbered about 20 per cent of the population in 1931. The Syrian Christians, the most ancient and numerous group, may be descended from Persian Nestorians; they were trading on the coast at least by 525 A.D. (McCrindle, 1897: 119). Christians were and are concentrated in Travancore and Cochin. They received land grants near the ports and enjoyed virtual self-government provided they paid taxes to the kings (Logan, 1951, I: 260–270; III: cxxi–cxxvi). As landlords, tenants, and administrators—as well as traders—they ranked socially parallel to the Nayars and were served in the same manner by Hindu polluting castes and serfs. Their trade declined after the Arabs became dominant on the coast, and some of them began to serve in the royal armies along with Nayars. The Portuguese converted some Syrians to Roman Catholicism, but the converts still retained the Syriac rite. All Syrians were readily distinguishable from the lower-ranking Latin Catholics, converts to Catholicism from Portuguese times who were drawn from various polluting castes.

The Economic System

The principles of reciprocity and redistribution,[4] rather than of market trade, dominated the village economy until toward the mid-nineteenth century. In villages, castes were characterized by hereditary occupations and correspondingly by hereditary, differential rights in the produce of village lands (Logan, 1951, I: 110–112, 269, 270, 599–600, 623). The village landlord and the Nayar tenants were the main redistributive agents, collecting in goods from the lower orders and redistributing them in customary shares. In all village economic transactions, *households*, and not whole caste groups or individuals, were the units of interaction.

The village landlord's household "owned" almost all the land in the village. "Ownership" meant both more and less than modern Western landownership (Logan, 1951, I: 602–603). The landlord might not sell his land without the consent of the king or of a chief, and sale was restricted to families of appropriate caste. He might not evict his tenants, village servants, or serfs without their consent unless they committed grave crime (*ibid.*, I: 607). On the other hand, the landlord's ownership included judicial rights over the village population.

The landlord retained a portion of the land as his private domain for cultivation by his serfs. The rest was held by Nayar retainer households as non-cultivating tenants (*kānakkar*). The tenant's household

[4] For an analysis of the general operation of these principles in the Indian village economy, see Neale, 1957: 218–236.

2:Gough E-4, 5 (1947-1949)1961 A Wll Kerala A Wll
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originally rendered a portion of the produce to the landlord and additionally paid tribute in kind at New Year and at the succession of a new landlord or a new tenant on the death of the old (*ibid.*, I: 605–614). In return for their hereditary land rights tenants owed military and personal services to the landlord or to his military representative.

Each Nayar tenant household, like the landlord, retained a portion of land for cultivation by its serfs. Serfs were attached to the plots on which they lived, took the house name of their masters and were held as ancestral property. The master supplied the serf with daily rice, building materials, a house site, and special gifts at life crises and festivals.

Each tenant household also gave some lands to cultivating subtenant households (*verumpāttamdar*) of the Tiyyar caste. According to Logan, the latter traditionally retained one-third of the net produce and surrendered the rest to their masters (*ibid.*, I: 583).

The Nayar servant castes and most of the polluting castes of village servants (astrologers, artisans, bow makers, basket makers, etc.) owed their main services to the landlord, the Nayar tenants, or both. Each family held the hereditary service right of a village or occasionally of a small group of adjacent villages. Village servants gave their services to the appropriate higher-caste households when required. In return they received from each patron household customary biennial shares of rice and other goods after the two harvests of the year. Each servant family held a house site and garden from the landlord by hereditary right and was provided by its various patrons with the materials (metal, wood, etc.) of its craft.

Among the higher polluting castes, most of the village servants (astrologers, artisans, washermen, barbers, etc.) simply exchanged services reciprocally without making gifts of grain. Within this range of castes, however, Tiyyars, as cultivators, were subsidiary agents of redistribution, for they received the services of almost all the village servant castes and made biennial gifts to them of grain.

The village was thus almost self-sufficient for food and the daily necessities of life. In addition, part of its produce in rice and coconuts went out in the form of annual tribute given by the landlord to his district chief. The chief in turn gave tribute to the king and in addition rendered succession fees and gifts at life-crisis rites (Logan, 1951, II: ccxviii–ccxix; Ayyar, 1938: 270).

A large part of the king's revenue, however, came from taxes on overseas trade. Before 1500 the trade was in the hands of Arab merchants, who obtained pepper and other spices from inland land-

2:Gough E-4, 5 (1947-1949)1961 A W11 Kerala A W11
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lords and tenants through indigenous Muslim middlemen. At that time the middlemen appear to have paid the villagers directly in cloth, metals, and luxury goods. Sumptuary laws confined the use of many imported goods to Brahmans, Nayars, and merchants. Other strategic goods such as metals and cloth filtered down from the landlords and tenants to the lower castes in the form of customary gifts at festivals.

During the period of European trade (1500 to 1792) markets and cash transactions encroached further upon the subsistence economy of villages. The kings prosecuted larger and larger wars and increasingly paid their Nayar soldiers in cash, even though they continued to muster them through the Nayars' "feudal lords." [5] As the pepper and coconut trade increased, new gardens came under cultivation and landlords and tenants often sold their spices for cash. The Nayar retainers seem to have received most of this cash from the towns, for as tenants they held the bulk of the village's garden lands as well as receiving their payments in war. From about 1550, therefore, landlords, who wished to maintain control of the economy, had to develop some means of extracting money from their tenants. Cash payments thus became a regular feature of the *kānam* tenure (Logan, 1951, I: cxxxi). The tenant periodically advanced a cash sum to the landlord as a kind of forced loan, the interest on which was then set off against the annual payment in kind. At the death of either landlord or tenant 13 per cent of the original sum was deducted from the loan as a succession fee. The tenant might then repay this amount in cash or revert to paying a larger share in kind. Later in the period cash renewal fees seem to have been exacted by landlords every twelve years. In some cases the tenant would prefer to surrender his land or to sell his right and move his family to another village. Sales of landlord rights, even (near the ports) to Europeans or Muslims, also increased. However, sale of either landlord or tenant rights remained disreputable, lengthy, and hedged about with legal restrictions until after the collapse of native rule (K. P. P. Menon, 1929: 309–310; Logan, 1951, I: 597 *et seq.*; II: cxxxv).

[5] I use the term "feudal" here without precise definition. In many respects the political structure of the Central kingdoms was comparable with that of the stronger Western European principalities such as Flanders and Normandy in the second half of the eleventh century. There was centralized control of the judiciary, of armies, trade, and coinage, but within each principality subordinate lords retained minor judicial powers and owned domains and private armies (Stephenson, 1942: 80–92).

2:Gough E-4, 5 (1947-1949)1961 A Wll Kerala A Wll
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ual process of fission. This state of affairs was in harmony with the small amounts of land controlled by retainer property groups and with the relatively temporary relationship of retainer Nayars to their land. The conditions of kānam tenure not only allowed for changes in the tenures of plots of land within one village, but even permitted segments of an expanding taravād to change their feudal allegiances and if necessary to hive off from their natal village.

The situation was different in the aristocratic lineages of royalty and district chiefs. By jenmam right they owned large domains which could support greater numbers of members. Their members also had a stake in the political office which they were reluctant to surrender. On the whole these lineages tended to cohere for longer periods than did those of retainers. Some of them today number over three hundred members and trace their descent back to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. When segments of these lineages did move away from their ancestral lands it was usually because they had been conquered and forced to vacate their territories and offices.

In the beginning, when one of these aristocratic lineages rose to power, it did so as a small property group. It did so either (in the case of royals) through conquest or (in the case of chiefs) through being appointed to office by some royal power. When they acquired office these upstart property groups seem to have severed ties with their former lineages and clans and to have conferred on themselves a higher ritual rank as independent castes.

After a few generations such a property group might expand in numbers and separate out into segments. I lack data on the precise point at which aristocratic property groups segmented; it seems to have been always at a later point with them than with retainer Nayars. (Today, some royal and chiefly property groups have a time depth of eight or more generations and over a hundred members.) When fission did occur the segments moved into separate palaces, each taking a portion of the ancestral domain for its maintenance. The oldest man resident in each segment acted as kāranavan and managed its internal affairs. For a time at least, the political office remained vested in the oldest man of the lineage irrespective of branch. When he was able, he kept a tight hold over all the segments, deflecting part of their income to himself for the upkeep of his palace staff, private army, and the larger forces he mustered through his subordinate vassals in war. The office bearer also retained sole right to the customs dues on trade within his chiefdom or kingdom, and to the tribute from village headmen within his area of rule.

3:Gough E-4, 5 (1947-1949)1961 AWll Kerala AWll
North Kerala Nayar

marks that "When a high-caste Nayar becomes ripe, he turns into a king."

Low productivity and poor communications perhaps made the exaction of tribute more difficult than in Central Kerala, and this fact, plus the uncertain nature of trade, made the local rulers perennially short of funds. This is probably the reason why, although they were trained for warfare in gymnasia in their villages, Nayars were not regularly conscripted into a national army. Instead, they merely fought sporadically on behalf of local chiefs. Further, chiefs and village headmen were insufficiently strong to bring all the land under their control. Their domains were larger than those of Nayar commoners, but most commoner Nayar property groups were independent small landlords in their own right within their villages. Since they were not full-time warriors and since in many areas they had no serfs, Nayar commoners also did part of their own cultivation on their small estates. Part of their land, however, they leased to Tiyyar tenants as in Central Kerala. The polluting castes of village servants had the same rights and spatial distribution as in Central Kerala. In general, the economic processes of reciprocity and redistribution in villages proceeded in a comparable manner.

As independent warrior-cultivators, the Nayar commoners were not divided into separate castes of retainers owing allegiance as vassals and *kānam* tenants to different kinds of lords. Most villages were nominally under Nayar village headmen. In villages of the Kottayam and Kadattunad kingdoms, both the headman's lineage and those of the Nayar commoners belonged to a large caste called Nambiars, who appear to have intermarried throughout the kingdom. Although of the same general caste as commoners, and not forbidden by religious law from intermarrying equally with commoners, Nambiar village headmen's lineages tended, however, to intermarry only with each other or to take wives only from the commoners, occasionally giving their own women in marriage to chiefs or Brahmans. Chiefs claimed a higher caste rank as Samantan Nambiars, and royalty as Kshattriyas. These aristocratic lineages conducted hypergamous marriages with each other and with Nambudiris as in Central Kerela.

Judicial processes were somewhat less centralized than in the Central kingdoms. At least in theory, grave crimes and civil disputes in urban centers seem to have been tried in royal courts, but most civil disputes inland were apparently tried by local chiefs. Under the chiefs, caste assemblies of neighborhoods took care of crimes against religious law as in the Central kingdoms. Murder among Nayars

6:Fawcett G-5 (ca. 1900)1915
AWll Kerala AWll
Nayar

therefore one belonging to the community at large—in South Malabar, at any rate. The system of inheritance through females as it obtains amongst the Nâyars, relieves the woman from that undignified position which she occupies throughout the civilized world as the personal chattel of her husband. It gives her a relative superiority, and she carries this elsewhere. Coitus haud ita fit ut supina mulier viro morem gerat, immo etiam supino viro insidens illa, facie in eum conversâ genibusgue hic atqus illic dispositis negotium illud perficere solet. Hanc veneris figuram feminis ineundiorem, atque idcirco ab iis vindicatam esse perhibent periti. The well-known *jape* by which Iago hoped to arouse Brabantio into activity would be altogether inapplicable here.

Two more excerpts from Mr. Gopal Panniker's little book will be made, with his permission, descriptive of the other two most important national or popular festivals of Malabar.

"THE VISHU FESTIVAL.

"Vishu, like the Onam and the Thiruvathira Festivals, is a remarkable event amongst us. Its duration is limited to one day. The 1st of Mêtam (some day in April) is the unchangeable day on which it falls. It is practically the Astronomical New Year's Day.* This was one of the periods when in olden days the subjects of ruling princes or authorities in Malabar under whom their lots were cast, were expected to bring their New Year's offerings to such princes. Failure to comply with the said customary and time-conscerated demands was visited with royal displeasure resulting in manifold varieties of oppression. The British Government finding this was a great burden pressing rather heavily upon the people, obtained as far back as 1790, a binding promise from those Native Princes that such exactions of presents from the people should be discontinued thereafter. Consequently it is now shorn of much of its ancient sanctity and splendour. But suggestive survivals of the same are still to be found in the presents (explained further on) which tenants and dependants bring to leading families on the day previous to the Vishu.

"Being thus the commencement of a New Year, native superstition surrounds it with a peculiar solemn importance. It is believed that a man's whole prosperity in life depends upon

* See Madras Museum Bulletin, Vol. III. No. 1, pp. 57 and 58.

9:Iyer E-4, 5 (ca. 1902-1906)1912
AWll Kerala AWll
Nayar

and one with less than that number was called a *Désavázhi*. There were in those days no taxes levied from the people, and the chief from the Rajas down to the *Désavázhi* possessed demesne lands for their support which were cultivated either by themselves or leased to *kudiyáns* or tenants; but the following were the chief sources of income, based upon feudal rights and privileges. The rulers levied custom duties upon exports and imports, taxes upon houses of fishermen, tradesmen and professional men. Criminal fines went to fill their coffers, and succession duties were levied upon the estates of deceased persons, especially those who held offices of State or rights over land. Outcast women were made a two-fold source of profit. Lewd adulterous women were made over to the chiefs with a premium for the trouble of looking after them, and the chiefs used in turn to sell the women to foreign merchants as slaves or wives to *Chettis*. The estates of persons who died without heirs were escheated, nor could an heir be adopted without the Raja's consent, for which a fee was generally levied. Protection fees from strangers and merchants were levied under various names and customary presents were the ruler's dues on occasions of feast or funeral. Wrecks were his perquisites, and various animals his monopoly. Concerning the former, Marco Polo wrote about the kingdom of Eli, "And you must know that if any ship enters the estuary and anchors when she has been bound for some other port, they seize her and plunder the cargo. They say that you are bound somewhere else, and it is God that sent you hither to us, so we have a right to all your goods, and think it no sin to act thus. This naughty custom prevails all over the Provinces of India, to wit, that if a ship be driven by a stress of weather into some other port than that to which it is bound, it is sure to be plundered. But if a ship came bound originally to the place, they received it with all honour and gave it protection."[1] The custom of the taking of ships and cargoes lasted down to recent times, until the English factory at Tellicherry entered into agreements with three of the country-powers for the exemption of English vessels from such seizures.

Among the animals that became the property of the Raja were cows with three or five dugs, cattle that has killed a man or other animals, cattle with a white spot near the corner of

1. Yules Marco Polo, page 374.

9:Iyer E-4, 5 (ca. 1902-1906)1912
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553 were conferred upon the people. These were, in brief, the rights and privileges[1] of the feudal chieftains of old.

621 **Village organisation and village life.** The question regarding the existence in ancient times of a village organisation in the Cochin State, as in Malabar, is somewhat unsettled. Some are of opinion that the village communities of the east coast have no counterpart in the west, and that there were no regular villages; while others state that the organisation of the country for agrarian, civil, social, and administrative purposes was the ordinary type closely allied to the Tamil nationalities, the cradle of its races, languages, and institutions: and that it rested on the village system in its truest and simplest form. The earliest social organisation was apparently based upon the family group into which the various tribes or castes divided themselves, each with its more or less well defined territorial limits. The Brahmans were grouped in *grámams* and the Nayars in *thards* or *chéris*. The old territorial unit was a *désam* presided over by *Désavázhi* or *Jenmidar*, and a number of *désams* constituted a *núd* ruled over by a *Náduvazhi* or local chieftain who was subject to the Raja.
[634]
622 The rights and privileges of the *Désavázhi* were: (1) the direction of the religious ceremonies of the village pagodas, (2) the management of the village pagoda lands and servants, (3) the control of marriages and other ceremonies in the village, and (4) the superintendence of all offences of the *désam* or village. He had besides the civil direction of the religious and military affairs of the villages. The same head-man was a *Désavázhi* or *Jenmi* according as he exercised all or only the first two functions in the village. The *Náduvázhi* was the military chief of his *núd* who was bound to attend the Raja and to march wherever he was directed with all the fighting men of his territory under the control of *Désavázhis* of their respective villages. In time of peace he collected the ordinary and extra revenue, and was helped by one or two accountants. Thus an old typical village was one which consisted of the houses of the military class of Nayars and of those of other low castes, the members of which, like the medieval guilds, were bound together by the ties of common interests, rendering to one another reciprocal services for a share of the village produce, and for the protection which they enjoyed. The village in

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[622]
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[564]

1. Malabar and Its Folk, pages 108-127.

11: India G-4, 5 (1960-1961) 1962 AW11 Kerala AW11

sold to purchasers for extraction of major forest produce but the extent of this is very limited in Kerala, Whereas for the whole of India about 75 per cent of major forest produce is extracted by the purchasers, in Kerala only about 15 per cent of forest is extracted by the purchasers directly, the rest being entrusted to departmental extraction.

4.14 The procedure in case of sale of timber and poles is to offer them first to the Government Departments and to sell only the surplus by open auction. The result is that while the Government Departments are able to obtain timber at reasonable negotiated rates, the trade obtains timber at very heavy rates.

4.15 In case of firewood, Messrs Forest Industries (Travancore) Ltd. (F.I.T.) have been given a concession for extraction of firewood for supply to M/s Fertilizer and Chemicals (Travancore) Ltd., Alwaye. The latter are now switching on to oil and, therefore, other uses shall have to be found for firewood extracted by the F.I.T. whose concession has still to run a number of years. Firewood supplies to the main cities come from the forest coupes which are sold to purchasers in auction after extraction of the timber. No area is managed purely for raising firewood as in some other States of India.

4.16 Unlike the major forest produce whose removal is done mainly through the Government agency, extraction of minor forest produce is mostly done through the purchasers. As may be seen from Appendix 6 Government earned only Rs. 50,000 as revenue through sale of minor produce while it earned about Rs. 5 lakhs in the form of royalties from purchasers.

Silvicultural Systems

4.17 Kerala is unique in having working plans for all the Government owned forest areas in the State. Since all the Government forests are managed under the latest scientific systems, there is hardly any danger of over-felling in the public sector forests.

4.18 With a wide variety of forests, both natural and artificial, the systems of silviculture practised are suited to the types. The Selection System[1] is the one that is being applied in all the evergreen forests and only the trees of little economic importance are extracted under the simple felling rules. The complex nature of the vegetation and difficulty of regeneration of evergreen species, together with the danger of heavy wild growth have caused these forests to be worked under the Selection System.

4.19 In the other timber forests clear-felling with natural regeneration, supplemented by artificial planting, is being undertaken. The climate and soil conditions are so favourable that there is generally no difficulty in obtaining natural regeneration. The only exception, and it is quite an important one, exists in case of the evergreen forests which are being worked more and more heavily as demand for new species arises in the market. Their regeneration is not keeping pace with the removals.

[1]. Under the Selection System trees are selected for felling uniformly all over the forest. Under simple felling rules patches of forests are completely cleared in rotation irrespective of age, type or growth of trees contained in that patch.

11: India G-4, 5 (1960-1961) 1962 AW11 Kerala AW11

*433 313 647

two more Conservators of Forest, one to deal with general development works of the State and the other for the new plantations may be considered. It is also proposed that an additional Chief Conservator of Forests to cope with the heavy work may be appointed as soon as the tempo of development work has gained momentum, say, by the middle of the Third Plan period. The Territorial Divisional Forest Officers should each be given a gazetted assistant to deal with all the development works in their divisions. The present annual expenditure on Establishment amounts to Rs. 8.23 lakhs (1958-59). If the above suggestions are accepted there should be an increase of about 25 per cent. It is also expected that if the tempo of developments is maintained, higher amounts will be needed in the Fourth Plan. The establishment expenditure is, therefore, worked out as under :

Third Plan period	Rs. 10.29 lakhs annually.
Fourth Plan period	Rs. 10.97 lakhs annually.

INVESTMENT AND OUTPUT IMPLICATIONS

*433 313 655 651

4.61 The major part of investment during the coming decade will be on raising the various commercial plantations discussed above. Investment on other items is summarized in Table appearing under Para 4.53. The amount of Rs. 3 crores[1] which is expected to be spent during the Third Plan period on acquisition of private forests, does not appear in the investment figures since the amount is only in the nature of a monetary transfer.

4.62 As a result of the development programmes suggested above, output contributed by the forests may be envisaged to increase from the following sources during the coming decade :

(1) Sale of forest produce from areas clear-felled for teak plantations. This item will be quite substantial.

(2) Income from thinning of teak plantations.

(3) Income from bamboo and eta reed resources, which will start accruing by the end of the Third Plan period when all the flowered areas would have been regenerated.

(4) Income from other plantations would start accruing only towards the end of the coming decade or during the beginning of the Fifth Plan since gestation period before the plantations start maturing is rather long.

4.63 It is difficult to give an exact forecast but taking the above factors into account, the increase in income accruing from forestry during the coming decade is taken to be as follows. It is assumed that income at the end of the Second Plan, that is, during 1960-61 would be 10 per cent higher than that in 1955-56, in 1965-66 twenty per cent higher than that in 1955-56 and by 1970-71 it would be one and a half times the income in 1955-56. On this basis projections for State income from forestry would

[1] The Third Plan has allotted Rs. 3.75 crores for Forest Development which compares quite favourably with investment suggested by us. However, it has to be kept in mind that our figure does not include finances for acquiring private forests, which the State Plan has to provide for.

11: India G-4, 5 (1960-1961) 1962 AWII Kerala AWII

be as follows :

	Rs. crores
1955-56	5.0
1960-61	5.5
1965-66	6.0
1970-71	7.5

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313
655
651

4.64 It will be noticed that in the earlier period income is projected to grow at a lower rate than towards the end of the period. This is naturally to be expected in view of the fact that gestation period for growth of forest potential is rather long and the effects of the development programmes will start becoming visible only towards the end of the Fourth Plan period and during the Fifth Plan period. During the Second and Third Plan periods rise in income is expected only from clear felling areas for teak plantations and intermediate felling in the older areas.

. 11: India G-4, 5 (1960-1961) 1962 AWll Kerala AWll

5.16 Chinese nets and stake-nets are the most important type of tackles used in the backwaters. There are about 1,180 Chinese nets and 5,400 stake-nets operating in the State. These nets are registered on payment of an annual licence fee assessed on them.

5.17 A large area of low lying paddy fields adjacent to the backwaters is used for prawn culture. The whole area is enclosed with earthern embankments (5 to 6 feet high) provided with sluice boxes for regulating the flow of water. Prawn culture in paddy fields is done on an extensive scale in Ernakulam and Trichur districts. Cultivation in these fields is restricted to a single crop lasting from July to September. The fishing operations in these fields extend from October upto the middle of April. Fishing is done with bag nets, scoop nets and drag nets. The fields are grouped into three classes on the basis of productivity. The average yields per square mile per annum from I, II and III Class are estimated at 1,080 lbs., 680 lbs. and 330 lbs. respectively. The area under the three classes are shown in Table 26.

5.18 About 80 per cent of the catches consist of prawns. On a modest estimate, the total production of prawns from these fields would be of the order of 4,000 tons. The rest of the catch consists of Mullets, Pearlspot, etc. Most of the prawns caught from the fields are cured and exported to the other States in India, Burma and Ceylon.

5.19 There are three brackish water fish farms in the State, one each at Mallapuram, Narakal and Ayiramthenga. The individual areas of these farms are 52.5, 42.5 and 22 acres respectively. An additional area of 28 acres is being converted into a farm at Ayiramthenga. Two more farms with a total area of 64 acres are also to be established.

River Fisheries

5.20 The river fisheries in Kerala are very poorly developed. Out of some 44 rivers traversing the State, only four, viz., Bharathapuzha, Periyar, Pamba and Beypore are more than 100 miles long. The more important fresh-water fish belong to the *Barbus* and Cat fish species.

5.21 There is no systematic fishing in the rivers and only a small number of fishermen are dependent on riverine fisheries. Fishing in the rivers is taken up as a hobby by the local people and the catches are utilized for domestic consumption. No data on production and the number of persons engaged are available in regard to river fisheries.

Culture Fisheries

5.22 There are a number of tanks, ponds and reservoirs in Kerala, coveting an area of about 6,000 acres, However, the area suitable for fish culture is much less than this. A recent survey of culture fisheries shows that only about 260 acres out of a total area of 1,227 acres surveyed in Trivandrun, Quilon and Alleppey districts are suitable for fish culture.

11: India G-4, 5 (1960-1961) 1962 AWll Kerala AWll

433 377 439 result in mutual advantage to both the States and optimum exploitation and utilization of the water resources of the region as a whole. Kerala can thus give Madras varying power through all the seasons of the year and effectively firm up the seasonal power potential of the State. This operational aspect has also to be kept in view while planning projects for an integrated operation and export of surplus power of Kerala to Madras. Hence, Kerala power at average kWh rates of Neyveli supply, is more advantageous to Madras than Neyveli power. It benefits Kerala also.

Rates for Sale of Power to Consumers within the State

433 377 7.36 From the economic standpoint, the use to which power is put is just as important as its production. The two chief aspects of electricity consumption are: (*i*) Consumption of electricity as a factor in production in the field of industry, agriculture and traction. This can be termed "productive" power, or power in relation to productivity which activates the production and distribution circuits on which the increase of a country's wealth depends. (*ii*) Consumption of electricity for the direct, collective and individual needs of the people that is energy as a consumer good. This can be termed "non-productive" power.[1]

7.37 In Kerala, productive consumption (industrial power, irrigation and agricultural de-watering) formed about 85 per cent of the total in 1959-60 and non-productive power (domestic, light and small power commercial light, and small power public lighting and water works) formed the remaining 15 per cent. The domestic consumption alone came to about 10.7 per cent. The corresponding figures for all-India (1959-60) were 77.9 per cent (productive), 22.1 per cent (non-productive) and 11.1 per cent (domestic consumption alone). But this small percentage of non-productive consumption contributed much more than its reasonable share to the total revenues) from the sale of power.

433 377 651 7.38 For ready comparison, the consumption of energy distributed by Kerala State Electricity Board to its consumer within the State (i.e., excluding bulk supplies to Distributing Licencees and to the neighbouring Madras State) and the revenue thereof are given in Table 36[2] for the year 1957-58. The statement is revealing.

[1] "Productive" power helps to raise the standard of living of the community while "non-productive" power rather serves to measure the standard achieved. The rate-fixing policy must take into account these two distinct categories of consumption. Generally speaking, the policy should be one of cheap "productive" power for such productive cycles as would lead to a rise in wages so that it would then become possible for "non-productive" power to be sold at normal rates. In fixing higher rates for "non-productive" consumption, the ultimate objective of raising the standard of living of the community as a whole should not be lost sight of. The rate itself should not be unduly high to deny the service altogether to the bulk of the community living in an electrified locality. To this end, the rate fixed for "non-productive" power should also take into account the capacity of the community to pay. One of the objects of a sound rate-fixing policy would be to maintain within a given community a reasonable relation between "productive" and "non-productive" power consumption. Both in productive and non-productive uses of electricity where power replaces labour, power consumption will rise in proportion to its cheapness as compared to the cost of labour. In other words, the potential expansion of power consumption in a region may to a certain extent, be measured by the ratio of labour costs to power costs in the area. A policy of power expansion, if the costs remain high in relation to the cost of labour, cannot, therefore, achieve all the desired beneficial results; lowering of power costs, therefore, becomes more imperative where labour is cheapest.

[2] [Table 36, appearing on p. 299 of the text, has not been processed -- Ahuja]

11: India G-4, 5 (1960-1961) 1962 AW11 Kerala AW11

Eleven per cent non-productive consumption contributes nearly 60 per cent of the total revenue. This is much more than its reasonable share. This amount of subsidy cannot be easily justified. Domestic consumption alone forms only a little over 7 per cent of the total consumption, contributes over 51 per cent of the total revenue from the sale of power. This is much too high a share.

7.39 There was a small, generally upward, revision of rates in December 1958, without materially altering the structure of the tariff. The above conclusions, therefore, still hold good.

7.40 Amongst the non-productive classes of load, item iv (Table 36) Public Water Works and Sewage Pumping is billed at "Industrial Rates" and classified as industrial loads for the purpose. In respect of item iii (Table 36) Public Lighting, the revised tariff of December, 1958 provides a rate of "15 nP per kWh for lamps for the first 6 hours of burning and 12 nP per unit for the remaining hours". This rectifies the high average rate per kWh in 1957-58, as seen in the above statement. The average unit rate per kWh of domestic consumption comes to as much as seven times the average selling rate of the total consumption through all categories of load. It is 15 times the average rate for productive consumption. The tariff revision of December, 1958 does not relieve this position. This is important. The structure of the domestic tariffs could induce optimum utilization of installed capacity with better load factor, but the domestic rates themselves have to be reduced substantially. In a State which leads the rest of the country in economic power generation, this should not be difficult. The "power surplus" position of the State can also enable the State to take effective steps to make cheap power (though costlier than productive power) available for domestic consumers extensively and may substantially raise the total domestic consumption to a higher level. In the light of the above observations, it is recommended that the State should review and revise its tariff policy for power sales.

POSSIBILITY OF POWER SHORTAGE

7.41 It is learnt that power shortage is adversely affecting some of the existing big industries which are heavily dependent upon adequate power supply for their full production. Besides, starting of new industries may be hampered unless adequate power supply is forthcoming, or at least, the present power shortage is removed.

7.42 A careful analysis of the power situation in Kerala shows that there will be no danger of a prolonged serious power gap. On the generation side, according to the present plans the Panniar Power Station with an installed capacity of 30,000 kW and the Sholayar Power Station with an installed capacity of 54,000 kW are expected to be commissioned in 1963 and 1964 respectively. Two of the six generating units of 50,000 kW each in the Sabarigiri (Pamba-Kakki) Power Station are also expected to be commissioned by the end of 1964 by which time the State will reach a very comfortable position in regard to power supply.

7.43 Any suggestion for setting up thermal power stations in the State to bridge the likely gaps in power supply will have to be examined in this context. As already pointed out, thermal power generation costs more, both in terms of the cost of genera-

13:Thurston & Rangachari E-4, 5 (no date) 1909
AW11 Kerala AW11
Nayar

564 or with one of the small sects coming between the Brāhmans and the Nāyars. But she cannot under any circumstances unite herself with a man of a clan, which [264] is inferior to hers. Nor can she eat with those of a clan inferior to her; a man may, and does without restriction.
564 Her children by an equal in race and not only in mere
● 651 social standing, but never those by one who is racially
613 inferior, belong to her taravād.* The children of the inferior mothers are never brought into the taravād of the superior fathers, *i.e.*, they are never brought into it to belong to it, but they may live there. And, where they do so, they cannot enter the taravād kitchen, or touch the women while they are eating. Nor are they allowed to touch their father's corpse. They may live in the taravād under these and other disabilities, but
557 are never of it. The custom, which permits a man
564 to cohabit with a woman lower in the social scale than
831 himself, and prohibits a woman from exercising the same liberty, is called the rule of anulōmam and pratilōmam. Dr. Gundert derives anulōmam from anu, with lōmam (rōmam), hair, or going with the hair or grain. So pratilōmam means going against the hair or grain. According to this usage, a Nāyar woman, consorting with a man of a higher caste, follows the hair, purifies the blood, and raises the progeny in social estimation.
558 By cohabitation with a man of a lower division (clan)
564 or caste, she is guilty of pratilōmam, and, if the
831 difference of caste were admittedly great, she would be turned out of her family, to prevent the whole
564 family being boycotted. A corollary of this custom
851 is that a Nambūtiri Brāhman father cannot touch his
783 own children by his Nāyar consort without bathing

* Tarwād or taravād, a marumakkathayam family, consisting of all the descendants in the female line of one common female ancestor.

significance. The former typifies the attempt which these maidens make in order to hang themselves on these instruments, and destroy their lives in consequence of the lamented demise of their sexual deity Kāmadēvan. The beating on the water symbolises their beating their chests in expression of their deep-felt sorrow caused by their Cupid's death."

Yet another important festival, Vishu, is thus described by Mr. Gopal Panikkar. "Vishu, like the Ōnam and Thiruvathira festivals, is a remarkable event among us. Its duration is limited to one day. The 1st of Mētam (some day in April) is the unchangeable day, on which it falls. It is practically the astronomical new year's day. This was one of the periods when, in olden days, the subjects of ruling princes or authorities in Malabar, under whom their lots were cast, were expected to bring their new year's offerings to such princes. Failure to comply with the customary and time-consecrated demands was visited with royal displeasure, resulting in manifold varieties of oppression. The British Government, finding this was a great burden, pressing rather heavily upon the people, obtained as far back as 1790 a binding promise from those Native Princes that such exactions of presents from the people should be discontinued thereafter. Consequently the festival is now shorn of much of its ancient sanctity and splendour. But suggestive survivals of the same are still to be found in the presents, which tenants and dependents bring to leading families on the day previous to the Vishu. Being the commencement of a new year, native superstition surrounds it with a peculiar solemn importance. It is believed that a man's whole prosperity in life depends upon the nature, auspicious or otherwise, of the first things that he happens to fix his eyes upon

406 The mhote too is seldom seen in these parts. The more common sorts of water-lifters are (1) an oval shaped bamboo-basket (costing about As. 2); (2) a wooden groove provided with a handle, costing about Re. 1; (3) and a frame-work consisting of two long bamboos, one small and another big in size balanced on a horizontal beam which is supported by two vertical poles; a picottah is attached to the small-sized bamboo and is drawn up and brought down by one or two persons standing opposite each other on two planks thrown across the middle of the well. The whole frame together with the picottah costs about Rs. 2. The oval shaped basket and the wooden groove are used to spread water from water courses and not from wells. Two persons, generally women, stand opposite each other on the side of a watercourse and pull the basket towards themselves by means of ropes tied round its 'ears' after filling it up with water; the extreme ease and facility with which they carry on the operations, often to the accompaniment of a snatch of song, is wonderful. The wooden groove is allowed to swing on a string and is moved to and fro by a person holding the handle.

651 The classes into which wet and dry lands are divided, the extent of each and the amount of assessment are subjoined.

Classes.	Wet lands.				Dry lands.	
	Single crop.		Double crop.		Single crop.	
	Area.	Assessment.	Area.	Assessment.	Area.	Assessment.
	ACS. C.	RS. A. P.	ACS. C.	RS. A. P.	ACS. C.	RS. A. P.
I ..	35 65	116 7 9	320 74	1,527 5 5	301 48	261 11 3
II ...	4 56	15 10 9	59 72	210 6 3	12 69	3 12 8
III ...	16 0	36 0 7	39 73	114 6 0	212 60	77 5 7
IV ...	21 37	39 9 8	15 51	34 11 2	68 39	17 10 3
V ...	109 59	147 9 11	11 5	17 12 11	207 53	44 6 8
VI ...	18 6	34 10 10	1 24	3 2 5	56 49	3 13 8
VII ...	...	...	...	...	78 3	37 0 3

135 The selling prices of cultivable wet land in the village are approximately Class I Rs. 1,500, Class II Rs. 1,000, Class III Rs. 800 Class IV Rs. 500—600, Class V Rs. 500.

311 423 The land is classified according to tenure as follows:—

I. 'Pandaravaka Verumpattam' (Sirkar) non-favourable tenure.	Nilams (wet land) (A. 86·73).	109 pattadars.
	Parambas (dry land) (A. 210·88).	
II. 'Pandaravaka Kanam' (Sirkar) favourable tenure.	Nilams (A. 2·19) ...	4 pattadars.
	Parambas (7 cents) ...	
III. 'Puravaka' (outside Sirkar).	Nilams (A. 563·61) ...	54 pattadars.
	Parambas (A. 711·80) ...	
IV. Inams (gift tenure).	Nilams (71 cents) ...	6 pattadars.
	Parambas (A. 14·47) ...	

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
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423 651 The revenue paid to the State varies according to the nature of the tenure. It is only the "Pandaravaka verumpattam" lands which pay the full pattam or share due to the State. The Pandaravaka verumpattamdars have full rights to the soil of the lands they hold and their rights remain undisturbed so long as they regularly pay the State revenue, but the rights to metals and minerals are reserved to the State.

In *Pandaravaka kanam*, the land is held on a lease in consideration of a sum of money supposed to have been advanced to the State, and consequently a certain amount is deducted from the State demand on account of interest on the amount advanced. Before the new settlement was made in 1905 it was the custom to renew the lease every twelve years on the renewal of which the kanamdar was to pay over 20 per cent of the kanam amount, plus half of the full pattam (rent) for one year and a fee of 5 per cent of the kanam amount or Rs. 3-2-0 (whichever is greater) for issuing a fresh renewal. But this practice is now done away with and the tenure is for all practical purposes the same as Pandaravaka verumpattam tenure with this difference only that from the assessment due thereon a deduction of one-third is made.

In Puravaka lands (literally lands which are outside) a third party called the Janmi is recognized as holding proprietorship and therefore entitled to share the produce with the cultivator and the Sirkar. The tenure is assessed by the Sirkar in the case of nilams at half the rates fixed for Pandaravaka verumpattam nilams and in the case of parambas at one-fourth.

Inams are personal grants or grants made in some cases for the performance of certain specified services in religious institutions, etc., and in others for services rendered on some previous occasion or for some other similar reasons either absolutely or on certain specified conditions. The deductions range from free assessment to one-third of the Pandaravaka verumpattam assessment.

In all these cases of tenure a royalty cess of six pies per rupee calculated on Pandaravaka verumpattam assessment is payable to the Sirkar.

427 423 The *Janmis* of Puravaka land let their land under different tenures, viz., verumpattam in which they make full assessment; kanam and inam they treat as favourable, but the rates are not so fixed or settled as those of the Sirkar's tenures. The leases of the kanam * lands of the janmis are also renewed for twelve years, the janmi collecting certain dues from their tenants for the renewal of the same. The title of the tenant of such lands is precarious for the kanamdar can be evicted on the janmi paying back the kanam amount † at the end of the lease of twelve years. This state of affairs was unsatisfactory, and the State Government has recently passed a Bill called the "Cochin Tenancy Bill" of 1914, an extremely moderate measure indeed, passed in the teeth of much opposition from the Janmis. The Regulation intends "to make better provision for the payment of compensation for the improvements made by tenants, and provide for the speedy realization of rent and other customary dues, by investing the District

* [Kanam = lease. Kanamdars = leaseholders.—Ed.]

† I.e., the amount the kanamdar has deposited with the Janmi at the time of taking up the lease.

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423 kanomdars who live in the village also possess lands in the neighbouring villages. In the centre of the village a very sacred and [346] important temple is situated. It has existed for nearly a thousand years, and it is believed by all the people of Malabar that many miracles have from time to time happened there. Many rich devotees have granted lands to it, and it is now the most important landowner of the village, possessing the janmam right over nearly [651] 200 acres of land, all leased to kanomdars. A large part of the temple land is not taxed by the Government, but a low amount fixed by the Government is collected by the temple authorities for its maintenance. This kind of tax is called *Sarvamanyam*. The temple is now managed by the Court of Wards. It belonged to the Zamorin, who handed over his estate to the Court. The Zamorin is the head of a tarwâd* of about 300 members, being the oldest man. Hence when he succeeds he is too old to manage well.

427 452 It has been stated that the chief kanomdars excepting three cultivate only the small stips of lands that they occupy and leave it to others to cultivate the rest of their lands. They do not follow any other occupation, but lead an idle life, collecting money from their tenants and lending their money to the poor on security of ornaments and other things. The tendency is for every man who has money to be a money-lender. The sowcars are money-lenders by profession, but every man who has money, instead of depositing it in a bank, lends it to others on high rates of interest. The landowner, the vakil, the official or any other class forms no exception to this rule. Only the traders use the bank.

427 There are 525 tenants not possessing kanom rights who hold land under kanomdars, and 54 agricultural workers having no land and not renting land. The largest tenant is a Tiyya occupying 80 acres.

Rents are paid both in money and in kind. The chief crop of the village is coconut, but nearly one-fourth of the area is under paddy cultivation. Rents of the coconut areas are paid in money, and those of paddy lands in kind.

651 *Land Revenue.*—Rs. 6,411-7-0. This is small because of the exemption of temple lands.

241 The paddy fields all give two crops per annum. When once a coconut is planted, it lasts for nearly 100 years.

412 *Implements.*—There are 542 ploughs in the village, all of the primitive type.

The other implements used are—

(1) the levelling board,

(2) a long stick for powdering the soil,

(3) a short iron instrument somewhat in the shape of a knife for sowing the seed and transplanting,

(4) a rather long handled mamoti, a broad plate of iron sharp at one end and joined to a big stick at another somewhat perpendicularly,

(5) sickles,

(6) big rods used for winnowing the paddy and for separating the grain from the straw,

[428]

* [i.e., a Navar family community, having inheritance in the female line. Such an estate is the joint property of all the *female* members of the family and their descendants, the male members of the family also having a right during their lives to support from the family estate, but not transmitting any right to their children.—Ed.]

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423 The desam contains 130 survey fields in all. The settlement
651 was first introduced in this desam in fasli 1313.

The following table shows the nature and extent of the holdings and revenue as given in the 'A' register of the village:—

Holdings and Revenue.

	Occupied area.								Deduct waste remitted.		Remainder charged.			
	Wet.		Garden.		Dry.		Total.							
Fasli.	Extent.	Assessment.	Extent.	Assessment.	Extent.	Assessment.	Extent.	Assessment.	Extent.	Assessment.	Actual cultivation.	Waste charged.	Total extent charged.	Assessment.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
	ACS.	RS. A.	ACS.	RS.	ACS.	RS. A.	ACS.	RS. A.			ACS.		ACS.	RS. A.
1313	445·27	2,226 5	209·43	502	197·16	157 14	851·86	2,886 3	...	...	851·86	...	851·86	2,886 3

	Second crop.		Miscellaneous revenue.	Total ryotwari demand excluding waste remitted.	Deduct remission other than waste already shown in column 11.			Net demand for the year.	Amount collected within year.	
Fasli—*cont.*	Extent.	Charge.			Occasional remission other than for waste.	Other remissions and deductions.	Total.		Arrear.	Current.
	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)	(25)
	ACS.	RS. A.	RS. A.	RS. A.		RS. A.	RS. A.	RS. A.		RS. A.
1313	8·96	13 11	96 5	2,996 3	...	851 12	851 12	2,144 7	...	2,144 7

312 The ryots mostly depend on the mercy of the monsoon for the watering of fields. But throughout the summer season beginning from the end of December to the end of July, watering is carried on from wells and tanks, especially in the case of garden cultivation. Tanks and wells are not sufficient and those existing are not deep enough and frequently dry up towards March.

241 The chief crops cultivated are coconut, arecanut, paddy, gingelly, pulses, horsegram, plantain and jack.

231 Pasturage is obtainable for the cattle on the unoccupied dry lands. Water for the cattle is obtained from channels, private tanks and wells.

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
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There is hardly any public tank. One stream (channel) flows along the northern boundary of the desam during rainy seasons when the fields become flooded. But its utility is limited since with the summer the whole channel is dried up. There are private wells in all gardens and sometimes in the fields of corn. But they are shallow for the most part and the water-supply is inadequate. The ryots who are wretchedly poor cannot afford to utilise modern progress in the field of well-boring, nor are they conversant with such developments. 312

There are woods and forests near the desam as we have before mentioned, but they are of no practical use to the people. The forest, which is outside the boundary limit of this desam, is under Government supervision and people are not allowed to cut trees. Other resources of the forest, moreover, are hardly taken advantage of, partly by the general apathy of the cultivator for improvement and partly by its being situated sufficiently far to dissuade them from incurring the necessary loss involved. At the same time it is in a way an influence to the ryots' detriment, for tigers, boars, etc., which the Akalanum and Mattur hills breed occasionally, make nocturnal depredations on the ryots' stock and corn fields. The peasantry are helpless against these enemies. 137 136

Occupation of land.—The private jenmam ryotwari holdings during the year of settlement (fasli 1313) are classified as follows :— 423 427 [651]

Pattadars paying	Number.			Extent.		Assessment.	
	Single	Joint.	Total.	Acs.	C.	Rs.	A.
Re. 1 and less	2	...	2	...	50	1	8
Rs. 10 and less but over Re. 1	7	2	9	7	71	33	14
„ 30 „ „ „ 10 ...	3	2	5	18	21	96	7
„ 50 „ „ „ 30 ...	1	...	1	7	8	37	5
„ 100 „ „ „ 50 ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
„ 250 „ „ „ 100 ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
„ 500 „ „ „ 250 ...	1	...	1	99	56	401	13
„ 1,000 „ „ „ 500 ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Over 1,000 ...	1	...	1	718	80	2,315	4
Total ...	15	4	19	851	86	2,886	3

Out of 851·86 acres no less than 818·36 belong to the two jenmi landlords. There are no occupants of Government jenmam ryotwari land in the same year.

Almost all kanomdars are themselves cultivators. The two jenmis, who are Brahmans by caste, and nearly 10 other families

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
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241
463 toddy and jaggery and three carters who are mainly agriculturists.

651 The revenue for the year 1915–16 was Rs. 3,175–10–3. The assessment for fasli 1312 for the Amsam of Kothachira was Rs. 6,519–2–4. By settlement (fasli 1326) it is Rs. 11,228–7–0.

241 *Agriculture.*—We have mentioned elsewhere the names of the chief crops. Out of these, the two staple products are paddy and arecanut, the former being a field cultivation and the latter garden. The mainstay of the bulk of the population is arecanut. Every household of any worth is surrounded by an areca palm garden.

The method of cultivation pursued in both these is of an antiquated character.

245 1. *Arecanut.*—Mature fruits are selected for seeds. They are kept in pots and watered for one year. Next year they are planted and within a year and a half or so, they grow into young plants Then they are transplanted into the gardens where they have to be grown. They are planted in parallel lines, the distance from one another varying from two to three yards. The plants are at first placed in pits measuring a cubic yard. Some cow dung and ash manure are put, and a watering is given on alternate days in the summer. During the monsoon they are left to themselves. When the plants grow up into trees, the pit is filled up and a shallow basin round it made just to contain a few gallons of water. These are renewed every year in the beginning of summer, small channels are cut across the gardens to bring water to the root of every tree, water-lifts are erected and regular watering begun. This will continue until the advent of the monsoon.

243 2. *Paddy.*—On the first shower of the monsoon, fields are given a hasty ploughing and seeds are thrown. A fortnight of average showers helps healthy sprouting and the ryot prays for similar weather for another two fortnights to come. By this time, they have grown up into healthy plants. Between the second and third month of their growth, they are carefully unrooted and planted in plots prepared by ploughing for the purpose. Between the fifth and sixth month after sowing comes the harvest. If there is a second crop, the land is again prepared for sowing immediately after harvest and the whole process repeated. For this crop, the ryot depends on the north-east monsoon which gives two months of heavy rain from the middle of November to the middle of January. After this harvest the fields lie fallow for a period of two or three months.

651 A table given in the next page will show the areas under single
134 and double crop, different soils, and the nature of the assessments
311 on each. (The information is taken from the village accounts.) The assessment given herein is the revised one after the re-settlement.

Description of soil.	Wet.						Garden.					Occupied dry.				
	Taram.	Whether single or double crop.	Rate per acre.	Area.	Assessment.	Jenma-bhogam.	Taram.	Rate per acre.	Area.	Assessment.	Jenma-bhogam.	Taram.	Rate per acre.	Area.	Assessment.	Jenma-bhogam.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)
			RS. A.	ACS. C.	RS. A.			RS. A.	ACS. C.	RS. A.			RS. A.	ACS. C.	RS. A.	
Red loam, VII-1 ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	6 0	1 49	8 15	...	2	1 8	1 10	1 11	...
	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	5 0	4 24	21 3	...	...	...	...	...	...
VII-2 ...	2	1	5 0	8 97	44 14	..	3	5 0	0 75	3 12	...	3	1 0	52 46	52 10	...
	...	2	6 4	205 46	1,284 2	...	4	4 0	24 95	99 13	...	...	...	...	...	...
	...	...	...	...	.	...	5	3 0	33 18	99 8	...	...	...	...	...	...
	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	2 0	73 71	147 5	...	...	...	...	...	...
	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	1 0	13 75	13 12	...	...	...	...	...	...
VII-3 ...	3	1	4 0	33 76	135 1	...	5	3 0	15 67	46 14	...	4	2 12	11 394	85 7	...
	...	2	5 0	95 82	479 3	...	6	2 0	18 28	36 9	...	...	...	...	..	...
	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	1 0	21 56	21 9	..	...	...	...	...	...
VII-4 ...	4	1	3 0	50 60	151 15	...	6	2 0	0 60	1 6	...	5	0 10	89 30	12 3	...
	...	2	3 12	10 57	39 10	...	7	1 0	0 80	0 13	...	...	...	...	...	...
VII-5 ...	5	1	2 0	33 29	66 12	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	0 8	2 62	1 5	...
	...	2	2 8	0 59	1 8	..	...	..	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...
Red sand, VIII-3	4	2	3 12	6 21	23 4	...	7	1 0	0 55	0 9	...	5	0 10	6 28	4 0	...
VIII-4	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	..	...	...	...	6	0 8	1 26	0 10	...
Total ...	...	...	...	445 27	2,226 5	..	...	...	209 43	502 0	...	...	...	197 16	157 14	...

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
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31 651 134

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651 On registered double crop land, the charge for the second crop has been consolidated at one-quarter of the single crop assessment. For occasional second crop on land assessed as single crop, the charge will be one-half the single crop assessment.

231 The stock as ascertained by personal enquiry are as shown below. The account of the stock of Kothachira was not obtainable from the village officials, for it is lost. I have tried my best to make the statement complete and exhaustive. But this is a period of extreme fatality to the stock in these parts. Daily one or more are dying. In a single family there died twenty within forty-five days leaving only one or two pairs. The numbers are—

Bullocks	240	
Cows	403	
Buffaloes	287	
Young stock	374	under 4 years.
Goats	712	
[407] Ploughs	414	
Carts	5	
Oil mills	4	

A comparison with the figures for the census of 1899–1900 for the whole amsom of Kothachira (the three desams of Kothachira, Peringode and Mattur) shows an all-round decrease of about forty per cent. I believe the causes of this great reduction to be partly a succession of very bad seasons for stock, and partly selling off under pressure of poverty.

Cattle feeding.—Bullocks and working oxen and buffaloes, besides being left to graze on the unoccupied dry lands and on cultivable areas when they are lying fallow, are given straw and 'kanchi,' water mixed with the dusty part of rice and 'punac' or oil-cake. For cows and young stock only straw is given besides grazing. Goats are simply left to graze. Straw is given to the above working stock after they are housed in their sheds for the evening. The 'kanchi' water is given in the morning just before leading them into fields and in the afternoon after their work is over. They are led to be washed after field work. Bullocks and buffaloes are the working stock.

The breed.—The cattle are very second rate in their breed. The most healthy working oxen grow to a height of from three to three and a half feet and their strength is not half as much as the oxen employed by the firms of Madras. The cow is a pitiable thing ordinarily two to three feet high and milking on an average from a half to one Madras measure per day.* Comparison, it need hardly be said, with Madras cows is odious. They can be milked for only six months. The best come into milking again within a year, but many only within two years.

241 *Manure.*— Almost all the cattle dung is used for manure. One per [237] cent perhaps goes for purposes of washing floors, etc. The cattle urine is allowed in some places to flow into the dung-pit, but no systematic attempt is anywhere made to utilize it to the best advantage. Besides this, burnt ashes and green manure are in common

* [A Madras measure is 62·5 fluid ounces = 3¼ pints. A fair Madras cow in full milk yields about 3¼ Madras measures per day, i.e., 5 quarts.—Ed.]

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Less than Re. 1	54
From Re. 1 to Rs. 5	100
„ Rs. 5 to Rs. 10	49
„ Rs. 10 to Rs. 20	22
„ Rs. 20 to Rs. 30	10
„ Rs. 30 to Rs. 50	19
More than Rs. 50	4
	258

Many especially of those paying under Rs. 2 hold only the plots of ground in which their dwellings are erected.

Classification of holdings according to ownership. 423 651

Pattadars paying an assessment of	Number.	Extent.	Assessment.
		ACS.	RS. A. P.
I. Re. 1 and less	2	0·26	0 15 0
II. Over Re. 1 and up to Rs. 10 (inclusive).	22	28·04	95 8 0
III. „ Rs. 10 „ „ 30 „	7	26·44	129 6 0
IV. „ „ 30 „ „ 50 „	6	65·04	234 7 0
V. „ „ 50 „ „ 100 „	3	55·59	196 5 0
VI. „ „ 100 „ „ 250 „	2	106·97	301 4 0
VII. „ „ 250 „ „ 500 „	1	62·15	274 7 0
VIII. „ „ 500 „ „ 1,000 „	...	...	...
IX. Over Rs. 1,000	1	645·04	2,469 1 0

Thus the greater part of the cultivated land is owned by a single pattadar—a Nambudiripad, a very enlightened and sympathetic landlord who has a reputation for fairness and kind treatment. The majority of the other pattadars are also Nambudiris, very often holding the land as trustees of temples.

The following table shows the rate of assessment, area so assessed, with amount of assessment, of wet, dry and garden lands:— 311 651

——	I. Wet land.		II. Garden land.		III. Occupied dry land.		IV. Unoccupied dry land.	
	ACS.	RS. A.	ACS.	RS. A.	ACS.	RS. A.	ACS.	RS. A.
At Rs. 7-8 per acre.	108·49	813 11	...	..	...	...	...	...
„ 6-4 „	194·87	1,215 15	...	...	...	...	...	...
„ 6-0 „	0·09	0 9	0·03	0 3	...	...	..	...
„ 5-0 „	109·06	542 11	2·28	11 6	...	...	...	...
„ 4-0 „	39·21	157 5	7·09	28 6	...	...	...	...
„ 3-12 „	7·69	28 15	...	...	...	...	...	...
„ 3-0 „	93·37	280 1	14·28	42 14	...	...	...	...
„ 2-0 „	128·00	256 13	36·43	72 14	3·23	6 9	43·53	87 0
„ 1-8 „	...	...	..	...	61·87	92 5	122·82	184 3
„ 1-0 „	...	...	49·48	49 14	98·84	99 0	288·66	288 11
„ 0-12 „	...	...	...	...	38·57	28 15	643·77	482 13
„ 0-10 „	...	...	...	...	3·42	2 3	148·42	92 12
Total	680·78	3,296 0	109·59	205 9	205·93	229 0	1,247·20	1,135 7

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311 The assessment under IV. Unoccupied dry is the potential amount, i.e., it would be levied if the whole area were cultivated. 651 About one-third or one-half of it may have been at one time or another under cultivation, but the area cultivated in any single year is very small.

427 Rents are generally paid in kind, though of recent years there is a tendency in some cases (e.g., when the tenant lives at a distance) to commute it for money at current market rates.

The village is assessed for land revenue at a permanent charge of Rs. 3,759-3-0, to which must be added (to obtain the total revenue demanded upon the village, for the year) the charges on the 'unoccupied dry land' actually under cultivation in the year. This last will vary from year to year; the possible maximum is above Rs. 1,000. There is a local cess of 1¼ anna in the rupee of kist levied by the Taluk Board for roads, etc.

241 311 *Agriculture—Area under principal crops.*—The area under this head varies from year to year according as more or less of the unoccupied dry land is taken into cultivation. For the year ending March 1916, the following figures are given in the village accounts but they are less exact than they appear, being partly estimates by the village officials.

Paddy—First crop, 847·20 acres; second crop, 460·51 acres.		
Pulses and grains	122·47	acres.
Oil-seeds, gingelly	155·89	,,
,, castor	12·59	,,
Spices, etc.	87·23	,,
Fuel and timber trees	63·00	,,
Betel leaves	5·00	,,
Vegetables and garden products made up of—		
Vegetables	59·41	
Plantains and bananas	29·57	
Coconuts	17·00	
Mangoes	23·00	
Arecanuts	9·00	
Jack fruits	8·00	
	——	
	145·98	

According to the 'A' Register the area of one crop wet land is 271 acres. In some years it appears that this area is smaller, because part of this is *potential* double-crop land, two crops can be raised on it under favourable conditions. But it may safely be said that some 150 acres of wet land yield only one crop. Such portion of the 'unoccupied dry' land which is cultivated in any year also yields but one crop—even that with difficulty, after lying fallow for one, two or more years.

The minimum available area of two-crop land is 409·73 acres. In some years (according to the weather and seasonal conditions) this may increase to some 525 acres. If irrigation could be extended more of the single crop area could be made to yield two crops.

243 Some fifteen to twenty-five acres may yield three crops, under favourable conditions.

All the wet land is utilized for paddy cultivation. Paddy is sown in May soon after the first rains. By the end of September or the beginning of October the first crop is harvested. The seed-

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000 to free them from debt. Co-operation is worth trying. The Agricultural Loans Act might be made more accessible. The tenants need more protection in their holdings. *The burden of taxation must be lightened* and more equally distributed, so that the incidence of taxation may not be so heavy on the poorest class; the villagers are starving themselves to pay the taxes.* Any appearance of an improvement in the standard of living of the villagers is deceptive, being only on the surface and confined to the better classes. The condition of the Cherumas and other agricultural labourers is badly in need of improvement. The fundamental evil is poverty and debt.

The industrial position of the village must be strengthened. The existing industries (i.e., crafts) are languishing. To an able and enthusiastic industrialist there are further possibilities of profitable employment of capital and labour.

Garden cultivation can be extended, the cultivation of valuable commercial products like pepper, coconuts, etc., might be carried on on a larger scale on capitalistic lines. Plantain fibres, it is said, can be utilized for the manufacture of a kind of silk-like cloth, much in demand by certain classes, for certain purposes.

Bamboos abound and may be used in the manufacture of paper.

The cultivation of gingelly seed on dry lands might profitably be extended and the product crushed in the village oil machines worked by oxen. There seems to be scope for considerable development in this line. It is a question whether groundnuts and indigo cannot be introduced and cultivated in the village. The Agricultural Department might usefully depute one of its staff to make a tour of the district and examine the possibilities of extending and improving cultivation—of introducing new crops and an improved and more varied rotation of crops. *The quality and extension of village education is a serious and pressing problem.* The present system of elementary education is doing as much harm as good. Its first fruits are seen (in this village) in the unwillingness of the 'educated' boys to return to their old occupation; all sorts of vain notions and sentiments get into their heads and they are [738] learning bad habits. It is certain that the 'educated' village boy has a supreme contempt for his uneducated parents and others and puts on airs of superiority and refuses to work in the field. Some of the boys are becoming regular scamps, good-for-nothing, and up to all sorts of mischief. Education of this sort is the last thing in the world to destroy the estrangement between the literary or intellectual tendencies of the higher classes and the practical labour of everyday life and industry. In actual fact the vices of the existing state of things tend to be perpetuated. It is high time to find a remedy.

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* [The taxes referred to are the very small quit-rents charged as land revenue, averaging less than Rs. 5 per acre for wet land which mostly yields two crops per annum, less than Rs. 2 per acre for garden land and less than Re. 1 per acre for dry land. Mr. Sundara Aiyar explains that the janmi shifts the burden of paying the land revenue on the kanomdar, and makes this stipulation in writing; the kanomdar in turn shifts it on to the working tenant, who is a tenant-at-will. Including the kist the working tenant pays 50 to 60 per cent of the gross produce to the kanomdar, the kanomdar pays to the janmi about one-quarter of what he receives in addition to the kist.—Ed.]